

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 COPENH 01354 151812Z

72

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EA-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02 TRSE-00 STR-08 OMB-01

CEA-02 COME-00 FRB-02 XMB-07 OPIC-12 LAB-06 SIL-01

NIC-01 DRC-01 /185 W

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R 151604Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9000

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 1354

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, DA, EEC, NATO, US

SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH DANISH

SOCIAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

SUMMARY: TWO KEY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AND FORMER  
MINISTERS, K. B. ANDERSEN (FOREIGN AFFAIRS) AND ERLING  
DINESEN (LABOR), MET INFORMALLY WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS  
FOR LENGTHY DISCUSSION MAY 13. CURRENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL  
CRISIS TENDEL TO DOMINATE CONVERSATIONBUT BOTH LEADERS  
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PAGE 02 COPENH 01354 151812Z

ALSO EXPRESSED THEMSELVES ON A VARIETY OF INTERNATIONAL

ISSUES. ANDERSEN, IN PARTICULAR, STRESSED DESIRE FOR CLOSEST POSSIBLE TIES BETWEEN HIS PARTY AND US OFFICIALS, TIES WHICH HE ADMITTED HAD BEEN STRAINED DURING YEARS OF CONFLICT IN VIETNAM. HIGHLIGHTS OF CONVERSATION FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

1. DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRISIS. BOTH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS APPEARED CONVINCED THAT NEW ELECTIONS WERE IN THE OFFING, WITH THEIR PARTY AND MODERATE LIBERALS OF PM HARTLING LIKELY TO BE PRINCIPAL GAINERS. ANDERSEN SAID THAT COMMUNIST PARTY (DKP) WOULD ALSO IMPROVE ITS POSITION, LARGELY AT EXPENSE OF SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY (SF). HE ADDED THAT HE BELIEVED IT MUCH BETTER TO HAVE MORE DKP REPS IN PARLIAMENT, INSTEAD OF INCUMBENT SF MEMBERS, BECAUSE ONE KNEW WHAT COMMUNISTS STOOD FOR. FOR MOST PRACTICAL PURPOSES, SF ADVOCATED SAME POLICIES, SUCH AS OPPOSITION TO NATO AND EC, BUT COULD PRESENT GREATER DANGER TO DEMOCRACY BECAUSE THEY WERE CONSIDERED MORE POLITICALLY RESPECTABLE.

2. ANDERSEN MAINTAINED, UNCONVINCINGLY, THAT SD OPPOSITION TO HARTLING'S TAX PROGRAM, WHICH HAS TRIGGERED OFF CURRENT CRISIS, WAS NOT DICTATED BY RECENT PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT STIMULATED BY SF AND DKP. DISEN TOLD LABATT, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT DKP STRENGTH AMONG DEMONSTRATORS AND ITS INFLUENCE WITHIN LABOR MOVEMENT GENERALLY. HE NOTED THAT 23 TRADE UNIONS IN COPENHAGEN AREA ARE NOW COMMUNIST CONTROLLED.

3. ANDERSEN SAID THAT HIS PARTY REALIZES AND HAS SAID THAT DENMARK'S DIFFICULT PROBLEMS REQUIRE HARD MEASURES, IF SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND. WORKERS, HE SAID, SIMPLY DO NOT BELIEVE HARTLING'S PROMISE TO REDUCE INCOME TAX RATES NEXT YEAR IN COMPENSATION FOR EXCISE TAX INCREASES HE DEMANDS NOW. KEY TO ENTIRE ECONOMIC PROBLEM, HE BELIEVES, IS HOUSING POLICY. NOT ONLY DOES PRESENT LAW UNDULY FAVOR WELL-TO-DO HOUSE OWNERS AT EXPENSE OF APARTMENT DWELLERS, BUT SYSTEM FEEDS INFLATIONARY FIRES MORE DIRECTLY. FOR EXAMPLE, HE POINTED OUT, BECAUSE ASSESSED VALUE OF HOUSES KEEPS RISING, OWNERS CAN AND DO REGULARLY GO TO BANKS AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 01354 151812Z

BORROW MORE MONEY ON BASIS OF LATEST ASSESSMENTS. THEY SPEND THOSE FUNDS, HOWEVER, ON CURRENT EXPENDITURES BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT NEEDED TO FINANCE THE HOUSES (EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THIS PART OF ANDERSEN'S ANALYSIS IS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT AND THAT ANY SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO SOLVE INFLATIONARY SPIRAL HERE MUST INVOLVE STRONG MEASURES IN HOUSING FIELD. ANDERSEN ALLEGES THAT HARTLING HAS NOT EVEN BEEN WILLING TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER IN SERIOUS FASHION, DUE TO FACT HIS

POLITICAL BASE IS LARGELY CONFINED TO HOUSE OWNERS.

4. US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. ANDERSEN MENTIONED HIS PARTICIPATION IN RECENT BILDERBERG CONFERENCE, WHICH HE SAID PRINCE BERNHARD HAD CHAIRED IN OUTSTANDING MANNER. HE AND SOME OTHER EUROPEANS, HE INDICATED, WERE STRUCK AND DISAPPOINTED BY GLOOMY PICTURE PAINTED BY COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT DURING HIS SECOND MAJOR PRESENTATION AT CONFERENCE. ANDERSEN SAID HE HAD USED PASSAGE FROM DEGAULLE'S MEMOIRS IN CALLING UPON FRENCH PARTICIPANT ALPHAND TO WORK FOR CHANGE IN CURRENT FRENCH POLICY RE ATLANTIC COOPERATION. ANDERSEN ADDED RESIGNEDLY THAT HE EXPECTED GISCARD D'ESTAING TO WIN PRESENTIAL CONTEST AGAINST HIS FELLOW SOCIALIST, MITTERAND. HELNCDV EXPRESSED KEEN PERSONAL DISTASTE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT AND SAID HE HOPED GISCARD WOULD NOT PERMIT HIM TO REMAIN IN THAT OFFICE.

5. EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. DINESEN SAID THAT BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM EC WOULD NECESSITATE NEW DANISH REFERENDUM. BOTH LEADERS BELIEVED THAT REFERENDUM RESULTS WOULD RESULT IN CONTINUED DANISH MEMBERSHIP. THEY CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT ACCESSION TO POWER OF CDU IN GERMANY WOULD WEAKEN SUPPORT HERE FOR MEMBERSHIP. BOTH ARE CONVINCED THAT BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WISH TO WITHDRAW BUT MAY FIND ITS HAND FORCED BY DEVELOPMENTS. ANDERSEN CONFIDED THAT DENIS HEALEY HAD TOLD HIM RECENTLY THAT WHEN LABOR PARTY DEMANDED EITHER ELECTION OR REFERENDUM ON ISSUE OF EC MEMBERSHIP IT CONTEMPLATED SITUATION IN WHICH PARTY WOULD HOLD MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT. IN ITS PRESENT MINORITY CONDITION, HOWEVER, LABOR CANNOT CALL ELECTION ON EC ISSUE BECAUSE IT MUST SEEK TO EXPAND ITS PRESENT HOLDINGS TO MAJORITY. ACCORDINGLY, THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 COPENH 01354 151812Z

REAL LIKELIHOOD OF REFERENDUM IN UK AND SOME DANGER OF VOTE IN FAVOR OF WITHDRAWAL, ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO FORMULATE QUESTION SHOULD MITIGATE DANGER SOMEWHAT.

6. NORDIC SOLIDARITY. ANDERSEN DENIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY WEAKENING OF THE TRADITIONAL CLOSE TIES AMONG NORDIC SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS CONSEQUENCE OF DANISH ENTRY INTO EC. HE HIMSELF TOOK OCCASIONAL VERBAL SLAP AT SWEDES, HOWEVER, COMMENTING THAT THEY OFTEN JUSTIFY THEIR OWN BEHAVIOR AS RESULT OF CONCERN FOR DIFFICULT POSITION OF FINLAND. IN ANDERSEN'S OPINION, SWEDES ARE REALLY ACTING WITH THEIR OWN INTERESTS IN MIND AND FINNS ARE NOT HAPPY ABOUT BEING USED AS SHIELDS. ANDERSEN ALSO SAID THAT WHEN PALME IN 1970 WAS ANGLING FOR FULL SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP

IN EC, HE AND A NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE RUSHED TO ORLANDA AIRPORT TO INTERCEPT SWEDISH PM BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH POMPIDOU TO ARGUE THAT SWEDEN SHOULD SEEK NO MORE THAN TRADE AGREEMENT. THEIR APPEALS FOR NORDIC SOLIDARITY AND MAINTENANCE OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY FELL ON DEAF EARS, HE INDICATED, AND FAILURE OF SWEDEN TO ENTER EC AT THAT TIME WAS CAUSED BY MORE CONCRETE TRADE PROBLEMS AND FRENCH RECALCITRANCE.

7. COMMENT: COMING SHORTLY AFTER AN ERSEN'S RECENT DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR (COPENHAGEN 1227) MEETING PROVIDED ANOTHER INDICATION OF THE DESIRE ON THE PART OF DENMARK'S LARGEST PARTY TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE CORDIAL AND THAT ITS POSITIONS ARE UNDERSTOOD. IT WAS QUITE EVIDENT THAT THE PAINS WHICH SECRETARIES ROGERS AND KISSINGER TOOK WITH ANDERSEN WHEN HE WAS FOREIGN MINISTER (A POSITION HE MIGHT OCCUPY SOON AGAIN) HAVE BROUGHT HIM TO A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

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